595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. [583] However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [167] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for ● 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native [584] districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time 197 the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 648 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

562 bridepriee. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
578 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange
of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the
payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in
a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep
the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract,
understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the
birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman
when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full
status as a woman.

583 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
584 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh sup-
plied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the
family's prestige required to be the equal of the hus-
band's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of
supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less
than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter
with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange
pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from
one community to another; her movement was in conformity
with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izraatsov, 82.

[Inner Horde]

428 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 596 177.59 Divorce is reported as having been easy and frequent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture contact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

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601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

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247 Ibid., 108-111.

248 Ibid., 108.

249 Ibid., 110.

250 Idem.